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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XVII.

XVIII.—JOHN CAMERON, in 1706, made over the estates to his eldest son Donald. They had previously, in 1696, been assigned to himself by his father, Sir Ewen. We had thus Sir Ewen and his son John both living, while the actual proprietor of the estate was Donald XIXth Chief of the Clan, so prominently known in connection with the Rising of 1745, and of whom presently. It will be remembered that John commanded the clan after Killiecrankie, when his father, Sir Ewen, returned to Lochaber. For this act a warrant was issued, in 1706, for his apprehension, charging him with treason ; but it does not appear to have been executed, though, no doubt, it was in consequence of this warrant that he, in the same year, transferred the estates to his eldest son.

He had been involved in all the schemes for the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, but his forte seems to have lain more in the civil than the military groove. He took part, as we have seen, in the Rising of 1715. For this he was attainted and forfeited, after which he left Scotland, and spent the remainder of his life in France ; while his son, Donald, took his place at the

head of the clan in Lochaber. His personal attendant, Duncan Cameron, was one of those who accompanied Prince Charles to the Highlands in 1745, to pilot his ship and party to a suitable place of embarkation, which he was well fitted to do, from his accurate knowledge of the West Coast of Scotland. Duncan wrote an account of the voyage, which has been preserved by Bishop Forbes, and printed by Chambers in the *Jacobite Memoirs*. The military genius of the family seems to have gone somewhat under a cloud in the person of John, but only to shine more brilliantly in that of his immediate successor, and others of his descendants. It is even said that his conduct in 1715 gave but little satisfaction to his father or his clan, and that the latter expressed unwillingness again to serve under him. It would, however, in the nature of things, be difficult to satisfy those who had served under such a successful and brilliant leader as Sir Ewen, and this will probably account for any such feeling that may have existed. He married Isabel, daughter of Alexander, sixth, and sister of Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh of Lochnell, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.
2. John of Fassifern, who married Jean, daughter of John Campbell of Achallader, with issue—four sons and seven daughters, The eldest son became distinguished as Colonel John Cameron, of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, who fell so gloriously at Quatre Bras, and of whom, at length, under "The Camerons of Fassifern."
3. Alexander, who became a priest, and suffered for his sympathies with the Rising of 1745. He was apprehended in Strathglass, and sent to the hulks on the Thames, where he died shortly after, on board a ship, on her way to Hanover, carrying a batch of Jacobite prisoners. Among them was an old and intimate friend of Alexander Cameron—Father John Farquharson, in whose arms he died. He had been removed from his own wretched quarters by order of the Captain of the ship, through the influence of his old companion, in whose arms he breathed his last.*
4. Dr Archibald, executed at Tyburn in 1753, for his share in the Rising of 1745, at the age of 46 years, and of whom, with his family and descendants, hereafter.

* This incident, and the subsequent movements of Father Farquharson, are fully described by Mr Colin Chisholm, Vol. VII., pp. 144-145 of the *Celtic Magazine*.

5. Evan, who died a planter in Jamaica.*

6. Miss Peggy.

Two other sons of Lochiel died young.

He died in exile at Newport, in Flanders, in 1747 or early in 1748, at a very advanced age, when he was succeeded as Chief of the Clan by his eldest son.

XIX. DONALD CAMERON, of 1745 celebrity, known as "The Gentle Lochiel." Though advanced into middle life, he was called "Young" Lochiel, his father being still alive. For several years before the Rising, Donald was in correspondence with the Chevalier de St George. One of the letters received by him from James is given in the Appendix to Home's "History of the Rebellion," dated the 11th of April 1727, in which, addressing him as "Mr Johnstone, junior," the Chevalier writes:—

I am glad of this occasion to let you know how well pleased I am to hear of the care you take to follow your father's and uncle's example in their loyalty to me; and I doubt not of your endeavours to maintain the true spirit in the clan. Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders about me, whom I value as they deserve. You will deliver the enclosed to its address, and doubt not of my particular regard for you, which, I am persuaded, you will always deserve.

(Signed) JAMES R.

On the 3rd of October, 1729, Allan Cameron, Donald's uncle, referred to in the Chevalier's letter just quoted, writes to young Lochiel, from Albano, as follows:—

Dear Nephew,—Yours, of September 11th, came to my hand in due time, which I took upon me to shew His Majesty, who not only was pleased to say that you wrote with a great deal of zeal and good sense, but was so gracious and good as to write you a letter with his own hand, herewith sent you, wherein he gives full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland, as you think are safe to be trusted in what concerns his affairs, until an opportunity offer for executing any reasonable project towards a happy restoration, which they cannot expect to know until matters be entirely ripe for execution, and of which they will be acquainted directly

* "It appears that Sir Ewen of Lochiel obtained or purchased property in the West Indies. How it was managed by him, or by his son, we know not; but we see from other documents that, in singular contrast to the contempt for commerce attributed to the Highland gentry of the day, two of his grandsons, Evan and Alexander, went to the West Indies to manage this property. Evan took with him in 1734 a cargo of people from Maryburgh, as Fort-William was then called, to carry to the West Indies, and it was believed in the country that he had made riches in Jamaica."—*Dr Clerk's Life of Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern*, p. 104. See also Editor's Preface to the *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel*, p. 29.

from himself; and, therefore, whatever they have to say at any time, either by you, by the power given you by the King's letter, or by any other person, the account is to be sent to His Majesty directly, and not to any second hand, as the King has wrote to you in his letter. Dear Nephew, now that His Majesty has honoured you with such a commission, and gracious letter, concerning himself and family, and that he has conceived so good an opinion of your good sense and prudence, I hope this your first appearance, by the King's authority, will answer the trust he has been pleased to put in your loyalty, zeal, and good conduct, of which I have no reason to fear or doubt, considering the step you have already made. By executing this commission with prudence and caution, depend on it you have an opportunity of serving the King to good purpose, which in time will redound to the prosperity of your friends and family. I need say no more on this head, since you will see by the King's letter fully the occasion you have of serving His Majesty, your country, and yourself. But as I am afraid you will have difficulty to read it, his hand not been easy to those who are not well acquainted with it; the substance of it is, that he would not let you go without shewing you how sensible he is of your good zeal and affection to his interest and service; that Scotland, in general, when it is in his power (hoping that happy time will one day come) shall reap the fruits of the constant loyalty of his friends there; that you represent to them to keep themselves in readiness, not knowing how soon there may be occasion for their service; but that they take special care not to give a handle to the present Government to ruin them, by exposing themselves to their fury by any unreasonable or imprudent action, for that they shall have His Majesty's orders directly, when it is proper; and recommends entire union among yourselves in general; and towards the end of the letter, he is pleased to make yourself and family particular promises of his favour, when it pleases God he is restored; and while he is abroad all that's in his power. I hope this hint of the meaning of the letter will enable you, by taking some pains, to read it through; it being wrote in the King's own hand, there was no occasion for signing it.

I think it proper you should write to the King, by the first post after you receive his letter. I need not advise you what to say in answer to such a gracious letter from your King, only let it not be very long; declare your duty and readiness to execute his Majesty's commands on all occasions, and of your sense of the honour he has been pleased to do you, in giving you such a commission. I am not to choose words for you, because I am sure you can express yourself in a dutiful and discreet manner without any help. You are to write, sir, on a large margin, and to end, your most faithful and obedient subject and servant, and to address it, To the King, and no more; which enclose to me sealed. I pray send me the copy of it on a paper enclosed, with any other thing that you do not think fit or needful the King should see in your letter to me; because I will shew your letter in answer to this, wherein you may say that you will be mindful of all I wrote to you, and what else you think fit.

This letter is so long, that I must take the occasion of the next post to write you concerning my own family; but the King, as well as Mr Hay, bid me assure you, that your father should never be in any more straits, as long as he, the King, lived; and that he would take care from time to time to remit him; so that I hope you may be pretty easy as to that point.

I must tell you, that what you touched on in your letter to me of the 14th August concerning those you saw there live so well, beyond what they could have done at home, they must have been provided for some other way than out of the King's pocket; and, depend upon it, some others have thought themselves obliged to supply them.

You are to assure yourself and others, that the King has determined to make Scotland happy, and the clans in particular, when it pleases God to restore him; this is consistent with my certain knowledge. You are only to touch upon this in a discreet way, and to a very few discreet persons; but all these matters I leave to your own good sense and prudence, for may be sure there are people who will give account of your behaviour after you return home; but I hope none will be able to do it to your disadvantage; keep always to the truth in what you inform the King, and that will stand; though even on the truth itself, you are to put the handsomest gloss you can on some occasions.

You are to keep in good terms with Glengarry, and all other neighbours, and let by-gones be by-gones, as long as they continue firm to the King's interest; let no private animosity take place, but see to gain them with courtesy and good management, which I hope will give you an opportunity to make a figure amongst them, not but you are to tell the truth, if any of them fail in their duty to the King or country.

As to Lovat, pray, be always on your guard, but not so as to lose him; on the contrary, you may say that the King trusts a great deal to the resolution he has taken to serve him; and expects he will continue in that resolution. But, dear Nephew, you know very well that he must give true and real proof of his sincerity, by performance, before he can be entirely reckoned on, after the part he has acted. This I say to yourself, and therefore you must deal with him very dexterously; and I must leave it to your own judgment what lengths to go with him, since you know he has always been a man whose chief view was his own interest. It is true he wishes our family well; and I doubt not he would wish the King restored, which is his interest, if he has the grace to have a hand in it, after what he has done. So, upon the whole, I know not what advice to give you, as to letting him know that the King wrote you such a letter as you have; but, in general, you are to make the best of him you can, but still be on your guard; for it is not good to put too much in his power before the time of executing a good design. The King knows very well how useful he can be if sincere, which I have represented as fully as was necessary.

This letter is of such bulk, that I have enclosed the King's letter under cover with another letter addressed for your father, as I will not take leave of you till next post. I add only that I am entirely yours,

A. CAMERON.

The letter enclosed from the Chevalier has not been preserved, but we have the substance of it in Allan's letter to his nephew. The reference to Lovat shows that his Lordship's character had been correctly estimated long before 1745, and that it was placed at its proper value by the friends of the Stuart dynasty. It is to be regretted that we do not know the exact nature of the promises made by Charles and his father to Lochiel, for himself and for his family. We are told in the *Jacobite Memoirs* that Donald, before agreeing to "come out," took full security from the Prince for the value of his estates, and that it was "to fulfil this engagement that Charles, after the unfortunate conclusion of the enterprise," obtained a French regiment for him. Chambers, who, in a foot-note, quotes this

from Bishop Forbes, says, regarding it, "that it is scarcely necessary to remark, that the presence of generous feelings does not necessarily forbid that some attention should be paid to the dictates of prudence and caution. Lochiel might feel that he had a right to peril his life and connexion with his country, but not the fortune on which the comfort of others besides himself depended, especially in an enterprise of which he had a bad opinion, and which he only acceded to from a romantic deference to the wishes of another person." In this view the majority of people will agree.

The Jacobites, not only in the Highlands but in the Lowlands, were acquainted with the contents of the letters which passed between the Chevalier, Prince Charles, and young Lochiel. In 1740 he was one of the seven Highland chiefs who signed articles of association for the restoration of the Stuart line, engaging to take up arms, for that purpose, provided sufficient assistance was sent from France. These articles were taken to the Chevalier at Rome by Drummond of Balhaldy.

A letter is given among the Stuart papers from Lochiel, under the signature of "Dan," dated the 22nd of February 1745, addressed to the Chevalier de St George, in which he refers to a recent letter forwarded by him. He assures His Royal Highness of his steady adherence to whatever may conduce to the interest of his family, and urges that, as "the season is now fast advancing," and that, as they had as yet no return from their friends in England, "how far it is necessary that we be informed of what is expected from the French, and in how soon, that we may have it in our power to settle matters so as will enable us to make that assistance to your Royal Highness our duty and inclination direct." Very soon after this Prince Charles Edward embarked for the Highlands of Scotland, and shortly after his arrival at Borrodale, he sent messengers to several of the most influential chiefs, and, of course, among the rest, to his trusted friend Lochiel, who, when told that the Prince had landed without troops, arms, or ammunition, resolved to take no part in what seemed so perfectly hopeless an enterprise. At the same time he determined to visit His Royal Highness in person, first out of courtesy, but particularly with the view to induce him, if possible, to wait for the promised assistance from France,

failing which to give up his intention, and return as quietly as he could. Home informs us that Lochiel left Lochaber on this visit quite determined not to take up arms, and that on his way to Borrodale, he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassifern, who, surprised to see him at such an unusual hour, asked what had brought him there so early in the morning. When Lochiel explained the object of his journey, Fassifern asked, "What troops had the Prince brought with him? What money? What arms?" Lochiel answered that he believed he had brought with him neither troops, money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making such a rash attempt. Fassifern approved of his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any further on the way to Borrodale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by letter. "No," said Lochiel, "I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons in person for declining to join him, which admit of no reply." "Brother," said Fassifern, "I know you better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases." This conversation, Home informs us, was repeated to him in 1781 by Fassifern himself.

No sooner had Lochiel arrived at Borrodale than the Prince and he retired together, when, according to the same authority, a discussion to the following effect took place:—The Prince began the conversation by bitterly complaining of the treatment he had received from the French Ministers who had so long put him off with vain hopes and deceived him with false promises of active support; their coldness in the cause, he said, but ill agreed with the opinions he had of his own rights, and with that impatience to assert them with which the promises of his father's brave and faithful subjects had inflamed his mind. Lochiel acknowledged the engagements of the chiefs, but observed that they were nowise binding, as he had come over to the Highlands without the stipulated aid; and, therefore, as there was not the least prospect of success, he advised his Royal Highness to return to France and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow Lochiel's

advice, affirming that a more favourable opportunity than the present would never come ; that almost all the British troops were abroad, and kept at bay by Marshal Saxe, with a superior army ; that in Scotland there were only a few newly raised regiments, that had never seen any service, and could not stand before the Highlanders ; that the very first advantage gained over the troops would encourage his father's friends at home to declare themselves in his favour ; that his friends abroad would not fail to give their assistance ; and that he only wanted the Highlanders, in the meantime, to begin the war.

Lochiel still resisted, entreating him to be more temperate, and consent to remain in the meantime concealed where he was, till he and his other friends should meet together, and arrange as to what was best to be done. Charles, whose whole mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered that he "was determined to put all to the hazard. In a few days with the few friends that I have, I will erect the Royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt ; Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince." "No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my Prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power." Such was the immediate effect of this singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war ; for it is admitted on all hands, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take up arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the standard of the Prince without him, and the incipient spark of the proposed rising must have there and then expired.

Lochiel now returned home, and dispatched messengers to all his vassals able to bear arms, commanding them to get ready at once to join him, and to march with him to Glenfinnan, where it had been resolved to raise the standard of the Prince. In the meantime, on the 16th of August, two companies of the 1st Regiment of Foot, under Captain Scott, which had been sent from Fort-Augustus to reinforce Fort-William, were cleverly surrounded and taken prisoners, by a small body of Keppoch and Gengarry

Macdonalds, at the end of Loch-Oich. Lochiel, to whom word had been sent to come to the assistance of the Macdonalds, arrived just as Captain Scott and his men surrendered, when Donald, with a body of Camerons, took charge of the prisoners, and marched them to his residence at Achnacarry.

On the 19th, at the head of between 700 and 800 of his followers, Lochiel marched to Glenfinnan, where the Prince was anxiously waiting for the clans that he expected would have met him there on his arrival at this place, which had been appointed for raising his standard. "At length," says Chambers, "about an hour after noon, the sound of a pibroch was heard over the top of an opposite hill, and immediately after the adventurer was cheered by the sight of a large body of Highlanders in full march down the slope. It was the Camerons to the number of 700 or 800,

‘All plaided and plumed in their tartan array,’

coming forward in two columns of three men abreast, to the spirit-stirring notes of the bagpipe, and enclosing the party of soldiers whom they had just taken prisoners. Elevated by the fine appearance of this clan, and by the auspicious result of the little action just described, Charles set about the business of declaring open war against the Elector of Hanover." The standard having been unfurled on the arrival of Lochiel, by the Marquis of Tullibardine, he carried it back to the quarters of the Prince, surrounded by a guard of fifty stalwart Camerons.

Some five hundred firelocks and a quantity of French broadswords having been landed from the "Doutelle" at Castle Tirrim, 250 of the Camerons were sent for them, and, with 300 of Clanranald's men, they met the clans, who had marched from Glenfinnan on the 21st, at the head of Loch Eil, on their way South. Here the Prince issued the famous proclamation offering £30,000 for the person of King William, "Given at our camp at Kinlochiel, August the 22nd," and on the following night, Friday, the 23rd, he slept at Fassifern House, on Lochiel-side, the residence of John, Lochiel's eldest brother, from whence 200 Camerons were dispatched in advance with the Prince's baggage to Moy, in Lochaber.

The Highlanders continued their march southwards. At

Corrieyarrack they were informed by a soldier named Cameron of Cope's march to Inverness. This man deserted from the army of King William for the express purpose of conveying this news to his friends, with whose movements he appears to have made himself fully acquainted. The intelligence was received with exultation, and the Highland army at once descended the southern steep of Corrieyarrack, on their way to the Scottish Capital, leaving Sir John Cope unmolested on his march to the Highland capital. While bivouacked at Dalwhinnie, Dr Archibald Cameron, who appears to have held the rank of Captain in the Highland army, Macdonald of Lochgarry, and O'Sullivan were ordered on an expedition against a small Government fort at Ruthven, with instructions to take the barracks. In this they failed, losing one man killed and two mortally wounded, but on their return they brought in Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who had just the day before accepted a command under the Government, and received orders from Sir John Cope to embody his clan, numbering about 300 able-bodied, fighting men. Cluny, it may be assumed, was not altogether sorry for his capture, for he is found returning from Perth a few days after to raise his clan for the Prince, who treated him with every consideration during the short time he kept him prisoner.

It is not intended to give a continuous and connected account here of the proceedings and movements of the Highland army. These are already so well-known as to render it quite unnecessary, even did our plan admit of it. We shall only deal with the points in the narrative where the Camerons, or their leader, come prominently on the scene. From Blair Castle, Lochiel, with Lord Nairne, and 400 men went on in advance, entered and took possession of Dunkeld on the morning of the 3rd of September. The same evening the City of Perth was taken by the Camerons, and next morning, Prince Charles having arrived, attired in a superb Highland dress of Royal Stuart tartan, trimmed with gold, they immediately proceeded to the Cross of the Fair City and proclaimed the Chevalier, amid the acclamations of the people. Lochiel was then appointed, accompanied by Macdonald of Keppoch, Stewart of Ardschiel, and Sullivan, to lead 900 men, comprising a large number of Camerons, sent forward for the capture of Edinburgh, with instructions to blow up the

gates of the City, if necessary, to attain their purpose.* They were soon in possession without the spilling of a single drop of blood. When the inhabitants awoke in the morning, they found the government of the Capital transferred from the Provost and Magistrates in name of King George, to the Highlanders in name of King James, and everything in the City was going on, to all outward appearance, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred, the one guard having relieved the other as quietly, according to Home, as one guard relieves another in the routine of duty on ordinary occasions.

At the battle of Preston, fought on the 21st of September, Lochiel, at the head of his followers, occupied the left wing of the army, whose "line was somewhat oblique, and the Camerons, who were nearest the King's army, came up directly opposite to the cannon, firing at the guard as they advanced. The people employed to work the cannon, who were not gunners or artillerymen, fled instantly. Colonel Whiteford fired five or six field pieces with his own hand, which killed one private man and wounded an officer in Lochiel's regiment." The Camerons carried everything before them; the enemy fled, dragoons and artillery, and the foot "were either killed or taken prisoners," except about two hundred, "who escaped by extraordinary swiftness or early flight." The cannon, tents, baggage, and military chest of the King's army fell into the hands of the Highlanders, whose total loss only amounted to four officers and thirty men killed, and about seventy wounded; while five of the King's officers were killed and eighty taken prisoners, many of the latter being wounded. Their loss in men has been estimated at from four to five hundred, with some seven hundred prisoners. Chambers says that "the victory began, as the battle had done, among the Camerons. That spirited clan, notwithstanding their exposure to the cannon, and although received with a discharge of musketry by the artillery guard, ran on with undaunted speed, and were first up to the front of the enemy," who, with Colonel Gardener and his dragoons, immediately reeled, turned, and fol-

* It has been stated that immediately before leading on the band, Lochiel met with an accident, in consequence of which he was unable to execute the commission entrusted to him in person, and that Cameron of Erracht took his place on the occasion. We have not been able to procure satisfactory evidence on this point.

lowed their companions. Lochiel ordered his men to strike at the noses of the horses, as the best means of getting the better of their masters; but they never found a single opportunity of practising the *ruse*, the men having chosen to retreat while they were yet some yards distant. Hamilton's dragoons, at the other extremity of the army, no sooner saw their fellows flying before the Camerons than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine. The whole action only lasted about four minutes, ending in "a total overthrow, and the almost entire destruction of the Royal army," and Lochiel, with his trusty Camerons, had the principal share in securing this remarkable result. Of the four officers killed in the action two were Camerons—Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lundavra, and Ensign James Cameron, both of Lochiel's regiment.*

(To be continued.)

MURDER OF COLIN CAMPBELL OF GLENURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

DEAR MR EDITOR,—In your last instalment of the History of the Camerons (*Celtic Magazine* for May), you are more than unkind—you are unjust—to the Stewarts of Appin. Referring to Colin Campbell of Glenure, you say that he was murdered by the Stewarts of Appin, and this surely is a terrible charge to be brought against the loyal and gallant Sliochd Mhic Iain Stiubhairt, a clan characterised by the contemporary seanachie of the Macleans, as all of them gentlemen of honour, and all of them true and trusty as the steel of the daggers in their belts.

Colin Campbell of Glenure was indeed shot dead by a Stewart, but not by a Stewart of Appin. The assassin was Allan Breac

* Just as the army was marching to the attack the Chevalier appeared at their head, very alert, and ready to lead them to the onset. Lochiel, however, who had a great respect and esteem for him, earnestly entreated him to forbear exposing his person, and advised him to take his stand upon a rising ground, under the guard of a party, from whence he might send his orders to any part of the army during the engagement as he should see occasion; for if any misfortune should befall him they were all ruined to a man; and that too much depended on his safety to hazard his person without more apparent necessity than there was; which advice the Chevalier followed, and retired with a party to a high field to the south-west of Seatoun.—*Life of Dr Archibald Cameron.*

Stewart, of the family of Invernahadden, in Rannoch. Glenure, as factor on the forfeited estates of Appin and Lochiel was, rightly or wrongly, accused of being a cruel oppressor of the people. At all events it is the case that at the time of his death he was preparing to carry out "evictions" on a large scale, and of the fact abundant evidence was found on his person after death. He was furthermore accused of having borne false witness against some of the gentlemen of the West for their share in the '45, and of thus encompassing the death of far better men than himself. Because of all this Allan Breac shot him dead, and managing to escape to France, another man, entirely innocent of the crime, as is now known, was laid hold of and executed under every circumstance of ignominy that his hereditary foes—the Campbells—could devise. If the manner of Glenure's death can only be characterised as a deed of foul murder, a cowardly assassination, it is equally true that the execution of James Stewart of the Glen (*Seumas-a-Ghlinne*) was, as it has been characterised by a high authority, with all the evidence of the case before him, neither more nor less than "a judicial murder."

As a descendant of the gallant Invernakyles of Appin, and brave MacRobbs of Letter-Shuna, I have to request that you will withdraw your cruel and utterly unfounded indictment of murder against "the Stewarts of Appin," a race, let me assure you, far too proud and brave to be guilty of anything so cowardly and mean as the assassination of Colin Campbell of Glenure, even if he had been ten times over the heartless tyrant and oppressor Allan Breac believed him to be. The whole history of the clan goes to prove that when they had to deal with an enemy it was always in honourable and open fight, never once by assassination.

My distinguished friend, the late John Hill Burton, was very proud of his title of Historiographer Royal for Scotland. You, Mr Editor, are now, by common consent, Historiographer Royal of the Highland Clans; and very nobly and impartially, altogether admirably, have you discharged your onerous and important duties, so far as your histories have yet gone. I therefore appeal to you in this matter with the utmost confidence that you will do my claim justice; that you will withdraw the charge to which I call your attention, either by appending a foot-note

to the text, or by an entire obliteration of the words to which I take objection.

With hearty congratulations on the continued success of your excellent *Magazine*, believe me, yours very faithfully,

NETHER-LOCHABER.

20th May 1884.

[We regret, in one sense, having roused the Royal ire of our excellent friend, "Nether-Lochaber." In another sense we are not; for we confess to an inclination to "do it again," to draw another letter from him; for we are always pleased to see any of his productions in the *Celtic Magazine*, even when he hits hard. We have, however, on this occasion, discovered the slip which moved his patriotic soul, and had already corrected it for the separate work, before his letter was received. It will be seen that the unpardonable crime complained of consisted in our having written "*Stewarts of Appin*" for a "*Stewart in Appin*."—ED. C. M.]

OLD HIGHLAND REMEDIES.

II.

MARTIN describes several methods which the Islesmen had for inducing perspiration. In Skye, the patient boiled his shirt in water, and then put it on, and this soon had the desired effect. Another way was to pile live peats upon an earthen floor until it became sufficiently hot, when the peats were removed and a quantity of straw substituted. Water was then poured upon it, and the patient lay down upon the steaming straw until the perspiration came on. When it was desired to make any particular part of the body perspire, a hole was dug in an earthen floor and filled with dry sticks and rushes. A red-hot hectic stone was placed upon these, and water being poured over the whole, the patient held the special part of his person over the vapour evolved until he obtained the desired result. A bowl of hot gruel and butter was taken at bed-time to produce a copious perspiration all over the body—a remedy common to this day.

Their cure for faintness of spirits cannot be better described than in Martin's own words. It was performed by a blacksmith in the parish of Kilmartin as follows :—"The patient being laid on the anvil with his face uppermost, the smith takes a big hammer in both his hands, and making his face all grimace, he approaches his patient ; and then drawing his hammer from the ground, as if he intended to hit him with his full strength on the forehead, he ends in a feint, else he would be sure to cure the patient of all diseases ; but the smith being accustomed to the performance, has a dexterity of managing his hammer with discretion, though at the same time he must do it so as to strike terror in the patient ; and this, they say, has always the designed effect."

For costiveness there were a number of remedies, one of the most common being to boil a quantity of dulse in water, and drink the infusion with a good-sized piece of butter in it. Some of the Skye people took an infusion of spearwort in melted butter, but as this was rather a violent remedy it was not generally used. Wood mercury and horehound were often found effectual. In St Kilda the natives drank the oil which the fulmar, a species of petrel, spouted from its bill when alarmed, and which contained valuable laxative properties.

For bloodshot and inflamed eyes, the Skye people applied a poultice of yellow fern and white of egg laid upon coarse flax. An infusion in milk of the plant called eyebright, applied with a feather, was also used with success, and dulse eaten in liberal quantities was thought to improve the eyesight.

In cases of toothache, spearwort was applied to the temples, another remedy being to heat a turf and place it to the side of the head affected as hot as it could be borne. In *Folk-Medicine* it is stated that "to go between the sun and the sky to a place where the dead and the living cross (a ford), and lift a stone from it with the teeth, is thought in the North-East of Scotland a cure for toothache."

The iliac passion was treated by giving the sufferer a drink of cold water and oatmeal, and then suspending the patient by the heels for some time, poultices of hot dulse being applied to the abdomen, until relief was obtained.

To ripen a tumour or boil they used a warm poultice of

female jacobea, cut small, and mixed with fresh butter on a hot stone, and this was also applied to hard and swollen breasts.

Benumbed feet were scarified with a lancet, and when swollen and blistered with walking long distances they were bathed in a decoction of alder leaves. Rheumatic pains were relieved by rubbing the affected parts with fulmar oil, and the juice of the crab-apple was considered good for sprains and cramps. For flatulency the people ate the roots of knaphard and lovage, taking nothing else, however, the same day.

In Colonsay, the people had a curious custom of fanning the sick with the leaves of the Bible. Martin states that while he was there the loan of his "book" was thrice requested and given for that purpose, and he was informed next day that the patient had benefited considerably by the use of it.

The remedies for the ills which afflict man have hitherto been entirely dealt with. We shall now give a few of those used for the diseases of cattle, sheep, and horses.

In Harris, the sheep which fed upon sandy ground became afflicted with a film which grew over their eyes and caused blindness, and to cure this the eyes were rubbed with chalk or powdered cuttle-fish bone. Lovage was a sovereign remedy for sheep troubled with cough.

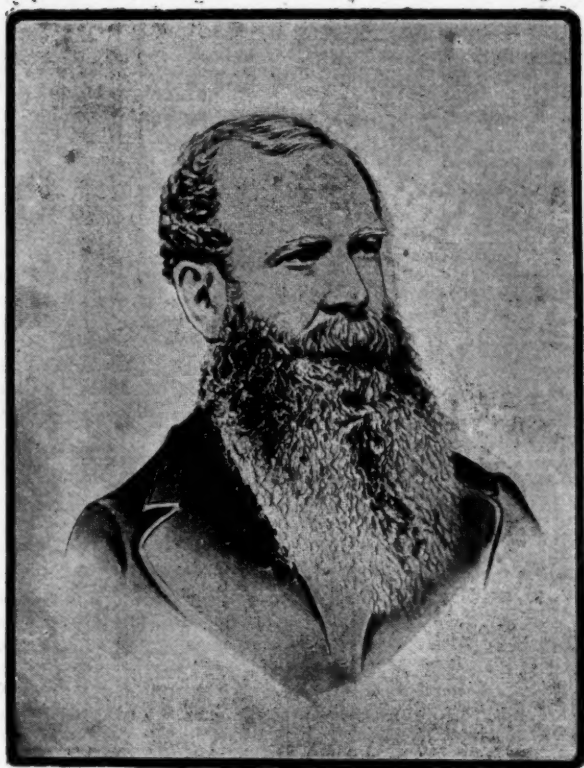
To cure cramp in cows, the part affected was bathed in water in which a curious kind of stone found in clay banks had been steeped for some hours. These stones were called cramp-stones. For blindness, chewed wild sage was put into the animal's ears. Costiveness was cured by giving the sea-plant slake, boiled with some butter.

Horses troubled with bots were washed with water in which a peculiar stone, called by the Skye people bot-stones, had been steeped. Wild sage chopped small, or an infusion of it, were given to horses to kill worms, the animal being kept from drinking for at least ten hours after the dose.

These are some of the most curious remedies given in Martin's work, which contains a valuable store of information regarding the life, manners, and customs of the Western Islesmen two hundred years ago.

H. R. M.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D., ON EARLY CELTIC ART.—THE Estates Lecture Trustees have this year devoted the funds at their disposal to a very patriotic purpose, and our only regret is that the treat which they provided for all who care to know the early history of their race, by inducing Dr Anderson, the Custodian of the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh, to deliver three lectures on Ancient Celtic Art, was not more fully appreciated and more widely taken advantage of. The lectures were delivered in the Fraser Street Hall on the 28th and 30th April and the 2nd May, to an audience which, if not large, was thoroughly appreciative, and the interest of the lectures was greatly enhanced by the numerous beautiful coloured representations of the various relics of Art described in the lectures. In the first lecture Dr Anderson treated of the pre-Christian times, describing the various relics of Art workmanship belonging to those times, which have come down to us, and demonstrating that those objects exhibit a peculiar style and development of Art and Art workmanship, displaying not only the possession of great technical skill and boldness of conception and design, but also a style and development of Art, no example of which has been found outside the Celtic area, which exhibits no trace of any foreign influence, and which must, therefore, have been of native origin. This, as the lecturer pointed out, clearly shows that our ancestors at the time of the Roman Invasion of Britain were not the rude savages we have been led to think by the descriptions of classical writers, who classed all the world except the Romans as barbarians, but were a people who had attained at least that amount of culture which is implied in the love of beautiful objects of Art, in the faculty to design these, and in the technical skill to make them. In the last two lectures Dr Anderson proceeded to treat of early Christian times, and showed that in Ireland and the part of Scotland which had not been conquered by Rome, there continued a peculiar style of Art, exhibited in churches and their attendant round towers, in bells, in sculptured stone monuments, in crosses, reliquaries, and in the ornamentation of manuscripts, which was a continuation and development of the style of Art of the pre-Christian period, and continued until comparatively recent times to be entirely independent of external influence of any kind and which by its association with Celtic writing is shown to be Celtic, and to have been Celtic in its origin, as in its continuous development. In the report of the Crofters' Commission, the Commissioners, in noticing the rudeness of the houses of the class about whom they were inquiring, remark significantly that they are not as a rule discontented with their dwellings, and that the rudeness of these has not prevented them being more moral and of more polite and gentle manners than the same class in other parts of the country. In like manner Dr Anderson remarks of our remote ancestors—"The men who produced this school of Art, though they may have lived in beehive houses built of unhewn and uncemented stones, and worshipped in churches scarcely more ornate in appearance or more architectural in construction, were not men who were destitute of that variety of culture which is literary and artistic in its character. On the contrary, we now see that they were men of such acquirements and tastes, that they multiplied their books laboriously, and counted it a virtue to be diligent in doing so; that the skill they thus acquired enabled them to produce manuscript volumes written with a faultless regularity and precision of character, rivalling the best calligraphy of the most literary nations, which they adorned with illuminations of exquisite beauty and intricacy of design, and enclosed in cases rich with the costliest workmanship in gold and silver, in filigree work or embossed work, or covered with gilded and engraved designs and precious stones." It is pleasing to all who take a pride in their race to have such a picture of our ancestors from the hand of so high an authority as Dr Anderson.



CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P.

"THE MEMBER FOR THE HIGHLANDS."

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION
(HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS)—
AN ANALYSIS.

THE long-looked-for Report of the Royal Commission appointed last year to inquire into the grievances of the Highland crofters has at last been issued. On the 17th of October 1877, the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* asked Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., in the Music Hall, Inverness, the following question :—

“ Keeping in view that the Government has graciously considered the reputed scarcity of crabs and lobsters, and of herrings and garvies, on our Highland coast, of sufficient importance to justify them in granting two separate Royal Commissions of Inquiry—will you, in your place in Parliament, next session, move that a similar Commission be granted to inquire into the present impoverished and wretched condition and, in some places, the scarcity of men and women in the Highlands ; the cause of this state of things ; and the most effectual remedy for ameliorating the condition of the Highland Crofters generally ? ”

The subsequent history of the movement originated by that question is already well known to the reader. It will, we think, be readily admitted that, from our early association with the proceedings which resulted in the granting of the Commission, and from several other facts connected with its history and progress, we have a very special interest in the result of its labours, embodied in the Report before us. The Commission was sanctioned by her Majesty on the 17th of March 1883, “ to inquire into the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and all matters affecting the same or relating thereto,” terms identical in meaning with those used in the question addressed, as above, to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, in 1877. The proceedings having wisely been carried on in public, the manner in which they were conducted under the able, impartial, and sympathetic guidance of the noble Chairman, Lord Napier and Ettrick, has been so fully recognised and appreciated by all, and, on a previous occasion, gladly admitted by our-

selves, as to leave no room for saying anything now but the expression anew of our most complete approval. While saying this much with pleasure regarding the conduct of the Commissioners during the inquiry, we are at liberty to differ from them, and we do so very decidedly, in some of the conclusions at which they have arrived. We are perfectly willing, however, to admit that in some of the recommendations of the majority, concessions are made, in principle, far in advance of anything we had ever hoped for, though far short of what the circumstances of the country and people demand.

When the Commission was appointed we very pointedly expressed disapproval of its composition, at the same time declaring the high respect in which the members were held—in their private and public capacities by us and all who knew them—apart from the duties which they were called upon to perform. We then wrote that—"nothing will satisfy the public short of making the cruel evictions of the past impossible in future in the Highlands, by giving the people a permanent interest in the soil they cultivate. That a recommendation to that effect can emanate from a Royal Commission, composed as this one is, is scarcely conceivable. Nor is it expected that they can rise so far above the common failings of humanity as to be very anxious to procure evidence which will lead to legislation in that direction. Are Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel, for instance," we asked, "at all likely to recommend the modification of their present rights of property, or the abolition or material curtailment of deer-forests, from which they and their class derive a great portion of their revenues? If they do they will prove themselves more than human." How has this forecast been verified? In reference to the receiving of evidence, the statement already made admits in this respect to the full the fairness of the Commissioners. But what about our expressed anticipations about evictions and deer-forests? The Commissioners unanimously declare that they "have no hesitation in affirming that to grant, at this moment, to the whole mass of poor tenants in the Highlands and Islands, fixity of tenure in their holdings, uncontrolled management of these holdings, and free sale of their tenant-right, good-will, and improvements, would be to perpetuate social evils of a dangerous character." Seeing that none of these things now exist, it is

difficult to conceive how they can be perpetuated as social evils of a dangerous character, or at all ; and, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the framers of such a thoughtful, able, and, in many respects, excellent report, must have perceived that it would be quite possible to secure permanent tenure without necessarily granting the other good things named—the uncontrolled management of holdings, free sale of tenant-right, goodwill, and improvements—if these concessions were likely to lead to the undesirable results apprehended by the Commissioners. So much for the first part of our original prediction, with certain important exceptions—at least in principle—relating to improving leases, which will be hereafter discussed.

Next, as to deer-forests. The Commissioners make some very excellent proposals as to the formation of future deer-forests. It is their unanimous opinion “that provisions should be framed, under which the crofting class would be protected against diminution, for the purpose of afforestation, of arable or pasture area now in their possession, and by which the areas which might hereafter form the most appropriate scene for expanding cultivation and small holdings should be preserved from curtailment,” and that no land should in future be appropriated for deer-forests below an altitude of 1000 feet. These recommendations “are not intended to apply to existing forests,” not “even at the termination of current leases”—not even to such as the Winans desolation, which skirts the very shores of Loch-Duich, in Kintail, and the history of which has become a public scandal and a shame. One cannot help saying that what, in the opinion of the Royal Commissioners, must be so desirable in the case of future desolations, would also be beneficial in the case of existing forests, many portions of which are admittedly fit for arable and pastoral farming. The formation, and we would say, the continuation, of deer-forests—which, unlike fixity of tenure, do exist—“is also calculated to perpetuate in an altered form an evil which has often been submitted to our attention, the absence of a graduated local representation of the various orders of society. Under the system of pastoral farming on a large scale this defect is deeply felt. The labouring class is represented by the crofter, the cottar, and the shepherd ; the large farmer is the absent tenant of an absent landlord. The minister, the doctor, the schoolmaster, and the

factor, thinly scattered at great intervals over the forsaken country, are the only representatives of culture, of counsel, and of power. This forlorn feature in the social aspect of some remoter parts of the Highlands is changed, but not much mitigated, by the transfer of the farm to forest. For a brief space in the year the sporting tenant appears at the lodge with company, expenditure, and benefaction in his train ; but the area consolidated in a single hand is greater still, the gulf between the labouring people and the leaders of social life is as wide as ever, the leaders are less concerned in local interests, and intermediate social positions are blotted out." So say the Commissioners; yet they recommend the continuation of existing forests, on the present conditions, while they suggest such excellent provisions regarding future misappropriation of land for a similar purpose !

They unanimously agree that in the case of land exclusively "devoted to the use of deer, not let or proposed to be let to a sporting tenant, but reserved intentionally for the enjoyment of the proprietor, the latter should be assessed on the basis of the sporting rent, and not on the basis of the agricultural value, as is at present the case." This is a righteous proposal, long insisted upon by all disinterested, impartial people, but, curiously enough, this is the last recommendatory paragraph in the report immediately before we come upon the following :—"The preceding remarks are not intended to apply to existing forests. We would not think it equitable that these areas should be subjected to special legislation, other than that which may be made applicable to agricultural or pastoral lands." The explanation for this curious and decidedly inequitable finding must be accounted for by the weakness of human nature, and the composition of the Royal Commission, in the direction of our original objections; and the result realises to the full what we then so pointedly anticipated on the question of deer forests. We shall return to this subject; meanwhile we pass on to the portion of the report, which deals with

THE EVIDENCE.

Before discussing the various proposals of the Commissioners, it may be well to refer to what they state respecting the evidence submitted to them—"depositions," the Report says, "regarding

acts and incidents often obscure and remote, in many cases delivered by illiterate persons speaking from early memory or from hearsay, or from popular tradition, fleeting and fallacious sources, even when not tinged by ancient regrets and resentments, or by the passions of the hour." To this is to be added the fact that the Commission "was anticipated by agents enlisted in the popular cause," which "was to be expected in a free country," and which "may not have been without justification and even utility among a population in a dependent and precarious condition, unused to combination for a public purpose." From two of these agents in advance—the writer being one of them—the Commissioners received assurances that their influence was not employed to intensify irritation, but rather in an opposite direction. "We" (the Commissioners) "are willing to believe that there was no conscious incentive to mis-statement" by the crofters, "nor shall we deny to the individuals above mentioned, irrespective of their opinions and connections, a genuine zeal for the good of their countrymen." This is very condescending, in view of the admissions made, immediately after, in the Report itself. Many of "the allegations of oppression and suffering" made by the crofters, it is said, would not bear a searching analysis. "Under such a scrutiny they would be found erroneous,"—not, be it remarked, in fact, but—"as to time, to place, to persons, to extent, and misconstrued as to intention." This is a curious admission following upon what had just been suggested respecting the agents in advance. These gentlemen could not possibly know anything about the *details* of the personal grievances of individuals; they could only know the *general* acts of "oppression and suffering." It was simply beyond their power to instruct the people in advance, even had they the wish to do so, about the details. Yet the Commissioners follow up the sentence just quoted by admitting to the full the general accuracy of all the charges and complaints, made by the people themselves, declaring that—

"It does not follow, however, that because these narratives are incorrect in detail, they are incorrect in colour or in kind. The history of the economical transformation which a great portion of the Highlands and Islands has during the past century undergone, does not repose on the loose and legendary tales that pass from mouth to mouth; it rests on the solid basis of contemporary records, and if these were wanting, it is written in

indelible characters on the surface of the soil. Changes of this nature, going to the very foundation of domestic and social life, are not anywhere accomplished without some constraint, resistance, and distress, and if the instances produced for our information are not specifically and literally true, they are akin to truth."

This is surely admitting, in the most complete manner, everything that outsiders, who could only be acquainted with the general history of the various districts—not with individual cases—could possibly know or say. But this is not all. We are told of the people themselves, who did, and who only could, speak in detail of their own oppressions and sufferings—

"That even among the poorest and least educated class who came before us there were many examples of candour, kindness, and native intelligence, testifying to the unaltered worth of the Highland people;" while the depositions of "proprietors, factors, farmers, clergymen, and members of the learned professions contain much that is valuable in connection with the industrial history and moral and physical condition of the population" only "subject to the powerful influences of prepossession or interest belonging to their several conditions and employments."

It is plain that "the poorest and least educated" have decidedly the best of the comparison, and the agents in advance need have no hesitation, in all the circumstances, in preferring their company. It is clear, on the face of it, that great concessions have been made on the part of individual Commissioners in the preparation of the report, and, judging by the course of the examination pursued by certain of them, there may be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the unsuccessful attempt to throw discredit on the leaders of the agitation which brought about the Inquiry was a sop by the majority to conciliate their opponents. If these gentlemen are as satisfied with the result on this point as we are with the result generally, they are happy indeed.

The Commissioners have admitted unequivocally the existence of all the grievances, oppressions, and sufferings ever alleged by the crofters or by their friends, and their conclusions, they tell us, "are in no small measure founded on impressions derived from personal observation, from the opinions of men of authority, from books, and from previous familiarity with the interests at issue." This is all that need be said on the grievances of the

people, and the evidence presented in support of them. Practically their substantial accuracy is admitted to the full in the Report.

The following is presented by the Commissioners as the people's own conception of the condition of their forefathers in the Highlands a hundred years ago.—

"A large extent of arable and pasture land held by prosperous tenants in townships, paying a rent to the proprietor; a sufficiency of grain grown, ground, and consumed in the country, in some places with an overplus available for exportation; cattle in numbers adequate to afford milk in abundance, and young stock for sale; horses for the various purposes of rural labour; sheep, which yielded wool for home-spun and home-woven clothing of a substantial quality, and an occasional supply of animal food; fish of all kinds freely taken from the river and the sea. The population, thus happily provided with the simple necessities of rustic life, are represented as contented with their lot, deeply attached to their homes, but ready to devote their lives to the service of the Crown and the defence of the country. Of the terms under which the smaller tenants held their possessions no definite account is presented, but it is assumed that they were entitled to security of tenure, subject to rent and services, as the descendants or successors of those subordinate members or dependants of the family, who in former ages won the land for the clan and maintained the fortunes of their chiefs by their swords. This claim of security of tenure is held to have been in some sort transmitted to existing occupiers. If the picture thus submitted," continues the Report, "is a faithful likeness of any phase of popular life that ever existed in the northern parts of Scotland, it could only be in fortunate localities and in favourable seasons. That it contains some of the lineaments of truth must be admitted, but it is a view drawn without a shadow." It then proceeds—"There have been in some districts from an ancient date small tenants holding farms in common, and paying rent direct to the proprietor. Such undoubtedly existed in considerable numbers in the latter half of the last century. In these cases the small tenants occupying large areas at low rents, and little vexed by services to the landlord, who was remote or indulgent, no doubt enjoyed a life of tolerable ease and abundance, diversified from time to time by the deprivations caused in years of scarcity."

This pleasant picture is followed by qualified remarks on those holding as sub-tenants under the tacksmen, concluded by the following, also painted by the Royal Commissioners themselves:—

"As a general view of the advantages and disadvantages attached to the condition of the sub-tenant in the past, compared

with those belonging to the condition of the crofter of the present, in many cases his representative, the sub-tenant had often the benefit of more room; in this case he held a larger arable area, by which cultivation could be suspended, and the productive properties of the soil, in consequence, to some extent preserved. On the vast unappropriated waste he could pasture a greater number of live stock; he possessed the potato in a more prolific and reliable condition as a main source of sustenance; in the manufacture of kelp he found the means of paying his money rent. He had a greater freedom in regard to the natural produce of the river and the moor. The intervals of leisure were passed with great cheerfulness among a primitive people, to whom hardships were familiar, who enjoyed their own traditional forms of physical and intellectual recreation, and whose minds were not embittered by an intelligent envy of the welfare of others, or by the belief in rights from which they were debarred. The various orders of society were more fully represented in the resident community; the natural leaders of the people lived among them."

There were disadvantages no doubt, but they were small, even as detailed in the Report, when placed against the picture here presented. Let us now submit the contrast—the condition of the present crofter, as pictured by the Commissioners; and we are not aware that his condition has ever been painted in darker colours.—

"The crofter of the present time has, through past evictions, been confined within narrow limits, sometimes on inferior and exhausted soils. He is subject to arbitrary augmentations of money rent; he is without security of tenure, and has only recently received the concession of compensation for improvements. His habitation is usually of a character which would almost imply physical and moral degradation in the eyes of those who do not know how much decency, courtesy, virtue, and even mental refinement, survive amidst the sordid surroundings of a Highland hovel. The crofter belongs to that class of tenants who have received the smallest share of proprietary favour or benefaction, and who are by virtue of power, position, or covenants, least protected against inconsiderate treatment."

Several advantages now possessed by the crofters are then enumerated, but with one exception—their direct relationship with the proprietor—none of these advantages have been secured for them by the landlords, but, in most instances, in spite of their active and powerful opposition. It is satisfactory, however, to find the Commissioners unanimously admitting, in spite of all they are

able to say of the modern advantages of the crofting classes, that—

"Whatever has been the progress in the condition of the Highland and Island population, we have not reached a point which should satisfy their just expectations," and that the population belonging to this class, "engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, in addition to the evils attached to an unproductive soil, high elevations, and a variable and boisterous climate, suffer from various causes of indigence, discouragement, and irritation, which are subject to remedial treatment."

These causes, they tell us, may be enumerated as follows :—

"Undue contraction of the area of holdings; undue extension of the area of holdings; insecurity of tenure; want of compensation for improvements; high rents; defective communications; withdrawal of the soil in connection with the purposes of sport. To these we may add" they say, "as contributing, in our opinion, to the depressed condition of the people, defects in education, defects in the machinery of justice, and want of facilities for emigration."

As regards the fishing population, which are generally the same persons as the crofters, in the West Highlands and Islands, there are in addition—

"The want of harbours, piers, boat-shelters, and landing-places; inability to purchase boats and tackle adapted for distant and deep-sea fishing; difficulty of access to the great markets of consumption; defective postal and telegraphic communication."

This black catalogue—blacker than even we ever depicted it, but now fully admitted by all the Commissioners—it would be difficult to magnify; and the mere statement and admission of its faithfulness by such an authority—a Commission composed as this one was—is more than sufficient, not only to justify all the agitation which was found necessary to direct the attention of the Crown, the Country, and Parliament, to so lamentable a state of things, but also to justify all and any agitation that may be necessary to compel the Legislature to supply an early and complete remedy, and pass a measure which will make its continuance any longer absolutely impossible. It certainly more than justifies all that has ever been alleged by the crofters and their friends, and much more.

This leads us to consider the proposals made by the Commissioners to remove these evils.

THE TOWNSHIP.

The first remedy proposed is to re-organise the Highland "Township," Village Community, or *Baile*, as a distinct agricultural area or unit, endowing it with certain immunities, powers, and privileges, by which it can "attain stability, improvement, and expansion." The township in its past and present position and relationships is fully and clearly described. "It has never possessed any corporate existence in the law of Scotland," but it "does nevertheless possess a distinct existence in the sentiments and traditions of its component members, and by the customs of estate management," in a manner accurately set forth by the Commissioners, who further declare that, though it has no legal status, it is yet "a reality in the habits of the people, and could not now be set at nought without arousing public resentment and opposition;" and they entertain the belief that it "contains latent capacities which are worthy of being studied and developed;" and that some evils may be thus prevented and benefits conferred, which could not be prevented or conferred by dealing with individual interests in the township apart from it as an agricultural unit or area with such powers and privileges as it is proposed to confer upon it by law; which are briefly as follows:—

All inhabited places containing three or more agricultural holdings possessing pasture lands in common, or which, within forty years, have enjoyed the use of such, are to be registered in the Sheriff Court books of the county as crofter townships; a plan of each township to be deposited in the office of the Sheriff-Clerk, showing its boundaries, the dwelling-houses upon it, the divisions between the various holdings in it, and other features of occupancy; these plans to be corrected from time to time as changes in any of its features occur. The township, thus constituted and recorded, would not be liable to reduction in area, or to be dissolved without the consent of two-thirds of its whole occupiers, expressed by formal resolution, passed at a meeting called for the purpose; and no exchange of lands, or the division of any one township into two or more, or its being joined with another township, can take place without the assent, in a similar way, of a majority of the whole members. It is proposed that in the recognition of townships close to the sea a right should be

reserved by the proprietor to take township lands and shores for the formation of houses and plots of land for fishing communities, harbours, boat-shelters, and buildings, necessary for carrying on and encouraging that industry, compensation being always awarded, where possible, to the township, by grants of land equal in value to that reserved, or by the reduction of rent to the individuals whose holdings may be depreciated in value by the curtailment of their holdings. Proposals follow for the appointment of an officer, who is to act, under the designation of constable of the township, to convene meetings, represent the people in dealing with the proprietor and his representatives, to act as arbitrator on behalf of the township in all cases of valuation, and to co-operate with the sanitary inspector in all matters connected with the improvement of dwellings and public health. "By these simple provisions" the Commissioners are of opinion that "the stability of the township would be firmly founded, and thecrofting class would be maintained in the possession of the arable area still left to them, and protected against the further alienation of common pasture." In addition to these rights, it is proposed that provision should be made for the erection of township fences, for roads and paths, fuel, thatching material, and sea ware. In the case of fences between the arable and pasture lands, the proprietor on the one hand, or a majority of the occupiers on the other, are to be empowered to call on each other to co-operate—the proprietor, in the case of a stone dyke, to undertake the expenses of building, while the tenants procure the stones and place them on the ground; in the case of a wire-fence, the proprietor to supply the material and the skilled labour, while the tenants would supply the carriage and the unskilled assistance required. Provisions almost similar are recommended in the case of fences between the pasture lands of the township and the proprietor, or the adjoining proprietor, or their tenants, or between one township and another, the expense in the latter case to be divided between the two townships. Roads and paths and bridges are similarly provided for, with the main object of stimulating the people "to shake off the torpor which besets them, and use their own labour for their own benefit, obliging at the same time the proprietor to make those pecuniary outlays and sacrifices for the township which he is practically compelled to do for the large farm," particularly in the case of a resident tenant.

Some excellent recommendations are also made in connection with what will, perhaps, appear comparatively small matters in the view of strangers to the necessities of a crofter's life in the Highlands. Let the Commissioners themselves explain them—

"Among the minor subjects of complaint which seem to

rankle in the minds of the small tenants, and to exasperate their relations with the proprietor or the neighbouring tenant in some exceptional localities, are payments for peats, sea-ware, and heather or grass for thatching. We think it desirable that all specific charges for privileges, such as these, should cease. They cause some irritation, they yield little profit, and as they involve payments for commodities indispensable to the poor, but which cost the landlord nothing, and have scarcely any marketable value, they seem peculiarly oppressive."

The township, it is recommended, should have the right to cut peats, sea-ware, and material for thatch, when such cannot be procured within the bounds of the township itself, on any lands most convenient to occupiers, and belonging to the same proprietor, always free of charge, and under proper regulations; in some cases, failing agreement by the parties, to be settled by the Sheriff-Substitute.

These provisions are designed for the preservation to the small tenants of their present contracted area of arable and pasture lands, but the Commissioners have also very properly concluded that this is not enough; and they propose to enforce the compulsory application of more land—arable and pastoral—for the extension of the crofters' present domain, under certain conditions and circumstances. They are "of opinion that the condition of the crofting population in some quarters is such that it would be justifiable in the public interest to introduce the alternative of a compulsory process, in the absence of voluntary concession," on the part of the landlords. They therefore recommend that—

The township should be able to claim an extension of ground from the proprietor; that the occupiers should be entitled to register their claim in the books of the Sheriff Court; that a period of one year should be allowed for a voluntary arrangement; that the Sheriff-Substitute should then investigate their claim, and if he finds it well founded, that he should record the township as an "overcrowded township," and the claim a reasonable claim. The proprietor would then be held liable to increase the land of the township from contiguous lands; no holding under £100 rent to be liable to diminution for this purpose, without the voluntary assent of the proprietor. The aggregate value, however, of the land assigned for this enlargement is not to exceed one-third of the annual value of the holding from which it is taken—that is, when the annual value of the dimin-

ished holding is below £150; it is not to exceed one-half, when the annual value is below £300; and it is not to exceed two-thirds, when the annual value is above £300. The enlargement must not be used for creating fresh holdings in the township, but only for the development, improvement, or transfer of existing holdings. The Sheriff must be satisfied that the occupiers are able to use the additional ground profitably, and to stock the hill pasture. The rent of the enlarged ground is to be fixed by valuation. This scheme would not involve any sudden or violent change. In most cases it would mean merely "a moderate restoration of the hill pasture which the grandfathers of the existing hamlets enjoyed sixty years ago." New townships, to admit of migration from one part of an estate to another, where no contiguous land is available, may be formed with consent of the proprietor. In these cases, the Commissioners recommend Government to make advances not exceeding £100 for every £10 of annual value in each new holding, and of £5 for each additional pound of annual value, for the construction of dwelling-houses, farm offices, and fences, at 3 per cent. per annum, the holdings to be created not to be less than £10, nor to exceed £30 of annual value; these new townships to have all the rights and obligations of existing ones, and not to be subject to sub-letting or division in any form. No holding in a township of less than £20 annual rent should be hereafter susceptible of subdivision, and no new holding of less than £10 annual rent should be constituted. Holdings of less than £3 annual rent, on becoming vacant, should be added to existing holdings."

The Commissioners anticipate that objection may be taken to the proposed Highland township area and its extension, for partaking "of a retrogressive character," as it proposes to give legal sanction to a form of occupation and land tenure which has almost everywhere given way before the gradual introduction of individual industry and occupation. To this objection they, in our opinion, conclusively reply—

"That pasture is indispensable to the small tenant in most parts of the Highlands and Islands, the soil and climate being such that he can never depend on cereal cultivation alone, either for rent or sustenance, while the areas requisite for the grazing of cattle, and especially of sheep, are so vast, and the surface so rugged, that numerous enclosures are impracticable. The choice is thus not between separate pasture and common pasture, but between common pasture and no pasture at all."

By these proposals, it is fully conceded that Parliament may properly interfere with the rights of landed property when the

condition of the people and the interests of the public demand it. That is a great point gained in the present controversy between landlord and tenant; and, if the proper means are used, it may be turned to good account. It will, however, we think, be observed with very general regret that, while it is proposed to preserve and even extend the existing township lands, no provision whatever is made to secure the individual tenants in their holdings in the township, even after it has been registered and has acquired the legal status recommended by the Commissioners. The land cannot be taken away from the people, but the people can be driven off the land. The people may be evicted, and the township turned into a large farm or a mere sporting domain. The proposed township, without security of tenure, is like a bundle of sticks, each of which may be picked out and burnt, until the whole bundle is consumed. So with the township crofters. They can be evicted individually until the township area ceases to exist for the purpose desiderated in the Report, as effectually as the bundle of sticks. Security of tenure would make the proposal logically complete and effectual, and the ultimate value of the plan must be based on the right of the individual to remain, and to demand from his landlord the remedies recommended, without fear of being evicted out of the place as a troublesome, disagreeable person, who claims a right to live in his native land. The want of this necessary provision will appear incredible when so much is recommended that, logically, can only be based upon security of tenure, but the Commissioners themselves declare its absence. After describing all the other conditions of the proposed township tenancy, they say that "the occupier would, however, remain subject to the arbitrary removal in the absence of a lease." This is, unfortunately, but too manifest.

We regret to find that, from the whole of this portion of the Report—the portion which recommends the adoption of the township unit or area—Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel enter their dissent in the most emphatic language; while they only sign others of its recommendations with hesitation and reluctance. [See separate article on the Dissents.]

With the object of providing, to a small extent, against arbitrary removals, and for other reasons, the Commissioners recommend that—

IMPROVING LEASES

Should be granted, subject, however, to so many conditions, and limited to tenants paying so high a rent, as to make them applicable to a very small number of the people. The proposal is valuable, however, inasmuch as it clearly admits the principle of Security of Tenure, which, if once conceded, cannot possibly be confined to tenants paying a rental of from £6 to £30. In these proposals, the Commissioners themselves declare that:—

“There is undoubtedly some abridgment of the landlord's power. In regard to the township, the owner is compelled to restrict a portion of his estate to a specific purpose, to restore in some cases a part of it otherwise appropriated to that object, it may be, with some diminution in its return, and to co-operate in certain works of no small charge for the benefit of the township. He is held to concession, and he is held to expenditure. He is subjected to the obligation to grant leases; and in connection with those of an inferior status we propose some other limitations to his authority. In all this there is a sacrifice of the prerogatives and freedom of proprietary management, as well as a sacrifice of money.”

Had the Commissioners carried this interference sufficiently far to provide complete security to the tenants, they would not have disturbed the equanimity of the landlords any more than they have done with the more limited but practically inoperative proposals made; and they would have satisfied all reasonable claims, and secured general peace and contentment among the people. We have always held that, given security of tenure, everything else required would naturally follow; without it, any other proposals will be found of little practical use, except in so far as the admission of the principle involved in them will help the people at no distant date to secure the thing itself. The Commissioners justly declare that—

“It would obviously be idle to set apart particular areas of land as an asylum for a particular class of cultivators, and to deny to the individual cultivator those securities which are necessary to the safe and proper exercise of his industry. In view of the sufferings endured in past times by the people through inconsiderate removals of which they retain a lasting impression, and to the dread which they express of similar treatment, though that may be in some degree unreal [?] as well as for the purpose of giving an impulse to ameliorations, we are of

opinion that special provisions would be here justified, which would not be requisite on behalf of other orders of men more independent, and more capable of governing their own destinies."

They might have added that, as this state of things was brought about by "inconsiderate" action on the part of the owners of land in the past, and that as it is being intensified by similar conduct by not a few of them now—notwithstanding the misplaced faith which the Commissioners express in the exemplary conduct of the landlords of the present and the future—the landlords have no right to complain, if it is now proposed to slightly curtail their powers of mischief to themselves and to the people placed at their mercy by the one-sided class legislation of the past. The public have not, like the Commissioners, forgotten Leckmelm, Lochcarron, the "Brave Old Crofter," and scores of similar cases, within the last few years; to say nothing of the wholesale notices of removal issued in Skye and elsewhere, simultaneously almost with the Report of the Commissioners.

Though the principle conceded in the proposed improving lease is a good one, the manner in which it is proposed to give effect to it, will satisfy neither landlord nor tenant. The conditions are far too onerous, and incapable of being carried out in practice by the small tenant, while it is only to the better class crofters—those who least require it—that it is proposed to extend the application of the principle involved in the improving lease. The principal conditions and requirements are, stated briefly, as follows :—

Any occupier not in arrear, and paying £6 or more annual rent, should be entitled to claim from his proprietor an improving lease. The application is to be recorded in the Sheriff Court books; and on the expiry of six months the applicant will be entitled to ask the Sheriff for an official lease extending over thirty years; the rent to be fixed by valuation, the oversman in case of difference to be appointed by the Sheriff. At the outset the holding is to be inspected by valuers, and any buildings on it in serviceable condition and suitable for the holding which had been erected by the occupier, or by his predecessors of the same family within the previous thirty years, or paid for by him or them—provided no assistance for their erection had been received from the landlord, and that the tenant was not bound by express conditions in estate regulations or otherwise in writing—shall "be valued by arbitration, and the value awarded should constitute a debt on the part of the proprietor to the occupier,"

but in no case shall this compensation exceed three years' rent of the holding. During the first seven years of his lease the occupier shall engage to expend in money or labour an amount equal to not less than ten years' rent in permanent improvements. Two breaks occur, one at the end of three, and the other at the end of seven years, at which the lease will lapse if the specified conditions are not fulfilled. At the close of the lease the occupier will be entitled to improvements executed during the last twenty years of the lease—the first ten being excluded. He can also claim a renewal of the official lease. If the tenant causes the holding to deteriorate, the landlord is to have a claim against him. A full year's notice must be given by either of the contracting parties to terminate the occupancy at the end of the lease, when, whether the tenant removes or remains, an inquiry and valuation shall take place to clear up and adjust the mutual relations of proprietor and tenant, and settle the compensation due; that for buildings not to exceed five years' rent, and that for improvements made during the second ten years of the lease, not to exceed one-third of their cost, while the compensation for the last ten years shall not exceed two-thirds of the cost of the improvements executed by the tenant. In the event of the tenant choosing to remove, the sum found due to him shall be paid by the proprietor; if he decides to remain in the holding, the money is to be paid to him at once, or it may be constituted a debt against the proprietor, in a manner mutually agreed upon between the two. The tenant can demand a new lease, and, failing agreement with the proprietor, the rent and conditions are to be settled by arbitration. Permanent improvements must be held to comprise the erection of a dwelling-house, with chimneys and windows, the walls being of stone and lime; farm offices substantially built of stone; subsoil drains with stones or tiles, dry stone dykes, properly built; deep trenching and clearing of the ground, and no other improvements but those named. They must all be for the benefit of the holding, and whether they are so or not, in case of dispute, is to be settled by arbitration.

So far good, subject to a reduction of the oppressive conditions attached to occupation under the proposed leases; but these are mere matters of detail, easily settled by Parliament once legislation is honestly attempted.

The limitation of the improving lease to the absurdly high figure of a £6 rental is a much more serious matter, and would confine its application within such narrow limits, even if the other impossible conditions were removed, as to make the leases practically of little utility, satisfying but a very small share of the fair claims of an extremely small section of the people. The

Commissioners themselves are conscious of the fact ; for they say that it may be objected to the scheme, "that the protection and encouragements afforded to the higher class of crofters above the level of the £6 line are withheld from those of an inferior condition, forming in most localities, we regret to say, the vast majority, and who may need such safeguards equally or more. This must be admitted"—the Report continues—"the poorer sort are here endowed with no formal security against eviction or excessive rents. The inequality of treatment is manifest and may appear unjust." It not only appears, but it is unjust ; and such a limit ought not for a moment to be listened to by the people and their friends.

In a foot-note to the Report, we are told that this limit of £6 was inserted "as a compromise between the opinions of those in the Commission who favoured a higher, and those who favoured a lower figure ;" and, like all other compromises, it will satisfy no one, and it must and will be brushed aside with little ceremony by the people and the Legislature. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, in his dissent from the £6 limit agreed upon by the other Commissioners, proposes the more reasonable basis of £4, which, "though high enough," he would consider a fair one, and, having been recognised in the Valuation Act of 1854, he claims that it has a distinct significance. Even £4 is far too high, and perhaps the fairest compromise—if compromises there must be—would be a £3 limit. This would include the bulk of the small tenants ; and anything that does not admit that should be stoutly opposed by all interested.

Let us see the result of the two limits proposed ; that of the majority of the Commission at £6, and that in the Memorandum by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, at £4. The following table, prepared from the Valuation Rolls of Inverness and Ross, applies to all the parishes, in the two counties, in which the Commissioners received evidence ; and, for the purposes of comparison, it will be found sufficiently accurate, though, in several instances, it was found impossible to exclude "lands" held separately from "crofts"—a fact by which the numbers appear considerably higher than they really are, and which leaves the case stronger against the recommendations of the Report than the figures actually indicate.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION. 377

The population column is taken from the Census of 1881, as printed in Mackenzie's *History of the Highland Clearances*.—

Parish.	Population.	£6 Limit.	£4 Limit.
Small Isles.....	550	8	22
ISLE OF SKYE.			
Sleat.....	2060	28	101
Strath.....	2616	37	130
Bracadale.....	929	—	—
Duirinish.....	4319	96	333
Snizort.....	2120	126	224
Kilmuir.....	2562	181	277
Portree (including Raasay).....	3191	50	117
Total.....	17797	518	1182

SOUTHERN PORTION OF THE LONG ISLAND.

Barra.....	2161	20	48
South Uist (including Benbecula).....	6078	187	357
North Uist.....	4264	108	239
Harris.....	4814	55	180
Total.....	17,317	370	824

LEWIS.

Barvas.....	5325	12	155
Lochs.....	6284	5	87
Stornoway.....	10,389	7	150
Uig.....	3489	27	155
Total.....	25,487	51	547

MAINLAND COAST OF ROSS AND INVERNESS.

Ardnamurchan.....	4105	65	102
Glenelg.....	1601	24	51
Glenshiel.....	424	—	—
Kintail.....	688	19	26
Lochalsh.....	2050	61	124
Lochcarron.....	1456	62	136
Applecross.....	2239	58	170
Gairloch.....	4594	61*	165*
Lochbroom.....	4191	83	253
Total.....	21,348	433	1027

GENERAL TOTALS.

Small Isles.....	550	8	22
Isle of Skye.....	17,797	518	1182
Barra, the Uists, and Harris.....	17,317	370	824
Lewis.....	25,487	51	547
Mainland, West Coast of Inverness & Ross.....	21,348	433	1027
Total in Inverness, Ross and the Isles.....	82,499	1380	3602

* Of these numbers there are on Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's property in the Parish only 18 at £6, and 82 at £4. On Mrs Liot's property, 43 at £6, and 83 at £4.

Will the people be satisfied with such a result? They certainly will not, and ought not. It is the old story of "muckle cry and little woo'" with a vengeance! The Commissioners evidently feel this. But how do they propose to remedy the existing state of things? The Report proceeds to tell us, as follows:—

"These people" [eleven-twelfths of the whole population!] "ought either to pass, as crofters, to new holdings of a higher value, or take their position among cottars as labourers, mechanics, or fishermen, with a cottage and an allotment, or migrate to other seats of labour here, or emigrate to other countries. Their case is contemplated by the provisions for improved fishing and voluntary emigration which will be embodied in other parts of this Report. Meanwhile, we trust they will not be subjected either to arbitrary eviction or rack-renting. From the former, they will be defended by the humanity of landlords and public opinion, while their rents cannot fail to be determined in some measure by the values fixed by arbitration on the holdings of their better endowed neighbours."

It is very easy to propose that the small occupiers should pass on to holdings of a higher value, but are they likely to get them, even if they have the means, when the landlords know that the giving of a large holding carries with it legal rights and a status to the tenant, which assuredly landlords generally will be most unwilling to grant! And, as to eviction and rack-renting. Why should the "humanity of landlords and public opinion" be still considered necessary in the case of the great mass and the most helpless portion of the people, while provisions are proposed to make the better-to-do minority, who least require it, perfectly independent of both? Why should these reviled and terrible agitators be compelled, and even encouraged, to continue the very disagreeable, though, in present circumstances, absolutely necessary, duty of fanning public opinion against arbitrary evictions? This is a duty from which most of them will earnestly pray to be relieved; and we protest against the proposal that people should be compelled and encouraged thus to continue agitating, and rousing public opinion to keep landlords from committing similar atrocities to those they have committed in the past, while their conduct in that respect is so emphatically reprobated in the Report, and when evictions can be so easily put a stop to by the Legislature.

The suggestion is a virtual instruction to the agitators to continue agitating. Is this fair, is it wise, even in the interest of the landlords themselves? It is certainly unjust to the crofters, and to their friends—who must continue to excite public opinion in future, to keep the people from being driven out of their native land, failing such remedies as are now proposed to be given to a small minority, composed of the most independent, and, therefore, those least requiring it of their number. That landlord humanity is not an unknown quantity in the Highlands is true enough; but that it is, or has been, universally practised, in the direction of keeping the people in their own country, by the class and their officials generally, or to any large extent, is a view of the case that, at this time of day, and in the light of history, need not be discussed.

The Commissioners propose certain checks—

On behalf of crofters and cottars, not in possession of an improving lease at a rent of £6 and upwards, and "not being in arrear, who being in actual occupancy, are summoned to remove by the proprietor, for his own purposes; such as a full year's warning, compensation for buildings and improvements on the holding excuted by the occupier or his predecessors of the same family, within thirty years, and, in the case of emigration, an obligation on the proprietor to purchase the occupier's stock by valuation." It is recommended that an occupier should not be summoned to remove for less than one year's full rental. He should also receive six months' warning, with permission to pay his arrears during that time, and to remain. "Arrears of rent in excess of two full years' rental should not be allowed to count against the occupier."

The following applies to a system common in the Isle of Skye—the iniquity of which was repeatedly pointed out—during the reign of "Tormore" and some of his predecessors, as factorial magnates in the Isle of Skye. The Commissioners propose that—

"It should not be lawful for an incoming occupier to bind himself to the proprietor to pay up the arrears due by an outgoing occupier, and no engagement to that effect should be entertained in a court of law in estimating the amount of arrears due by an occupier, or in any other way," and "no payment should be received by the outgoing occupier or by the proprietor for his goodwill of the holding, irrespective of the buildings or improvements transferred to him." Any obligations for labour service and for the sale or supply of any commodities whatever, are to

be commuted into money value, in the absence of voluntary agreement, by arbitration.

Tenants sub-letting or dividing their holdings, without the consent of the proprietor, will forfeit all their rights in connection with their leases. Facilities are recommended for the purchase of their holdings by the tenants, whether they hold leases or not, and to the cottar fishermen for the purchase of their houses, on the following terms :—

“Every occupant in a township paying £6 or more of annual rent to the proprietor should have the right to enter his name with the Sheriff-Clerk of the county as a claimant to purchase the fee-simple of his holding for a price not exceeding twenty-five years’ gross rental of the holding, having first obtained the consent of the proprietor in writing. The claimant, on depositing one-third of the purchase money, should have a right to claim an advance of the remaining two-thirds by Government.”

So long as Highland estates continue to sell at from forty to fifty years’ purchase, this proposal must, we fear, continue a dead letter ; for no proprietor would be such a fool, or so absolutely unselfish, as to sell his land in small plots for little more than half what it would sell for in the open market. Therefore, the meaning of the proviso that “the consent of the proprietor in writing” must be obtained before any purchase of a holding can take place, is not far to seek. Many, it is to be feared, will hold that it was never expected to come into active operation ; and the impossible condition attached of getting the landlord to consent to such a proposal “in writing,” or otherwise, will go far to strengthen that view.

Referring to the house accommodation of the crofting class, the Commissioners declare, regarding the inconveniences which the people suffer in connection with their position as occupiers of land, that—

“The one which strikes the stranger as the most deplorable, and which affects the native with the least impatience, is the nature of their dwellings. It is difficult to say how far the crofter or cottar is sensible of the disadvantages attached to the darkness and deprivations of his primitive habitation, or how far this feature in his life is actually prejudicial to his happiness or welfare. In the main, his house does not make him unhappy, for he does not complain ; it does not make him immoral, for he

is above the average standard of morality in his country ; it does not make him unhealthy, for he enjoys an uncommon share of vigour and longevity. Yet no one concerned for the elevation of the Highland people can fail to desire an improvement in this particular ; no one can doubt that if they are well-conducted and robust, it is in spite of their lodging, and in consequence of counteracting causes, and that if they enjoyed the benefit of purer and brighter homes, they would prosper more."

Having first described the worst forms of these dwellings, the Commissioners continue—

"When seen in a superior form, the Highland cottage, though thatched with grass or heath, floored with clay, and built with untempered stones, may yet possess a chimney and a window in the wall, a door unshared by the cattle, a partition between the stall and the lodging, and when kept clean does not offer an unpleasant aspect, animated as it often is by the loom or spinning-wheel, by a hospitable welcome, and by kindly faces. The ancient model of Highland habitation may indeed be contemplated with too much indulgence by those whose minds are not duly possessed by considerations of utility and sanitation, for it is associated in fancy with all that is most pleasing and romantic in the manners and history of the people, while in form and colour it is in perfect harmony with the landscape and the shore."

The rent, we are told, is now determined by the custom of the estate and the discretion of the proprietor, who occasionally readjusts the amount by valuation, conducted by the factor or a special agent ; while in some cases, on the larger estates of the old families of the country, considerable indulgence, often amounting to benevolence, is said to be discovered in the rent of the smaller holdings ; but while the Commissioners think it right not to express any opinion respecting the conduct of individual proprietors in the management of their estates, they say that the question of rent assumes a "prominent position" in the case of the Ross of Mull, Tiree, and Iona, belonging to the Duke of Argyll ; Kilmuir, in the Isle of Skye, the property of Major Fraser ; in the Island of Rousay, the property of General Burroughs ; and at Clyth, in Caithness, belonging to Mr Adam Sharp. Cases might "probably be found of the inconsiderate imposition of increased rent, or of rent being raised with a view to advantageous sale. On a comprehensive view of the rents paid by small tenants in the Highlands and Islands, we have not found, in the conduct of

proprieters, ground for proposing a general revision by official authority ; nor would such a revision be of any substantial benefit to tenants, unless it were accompanied by the concession, in some form, of permanent tenure—a measure which we have not been able to recommend, under the peculiar circumstances of the population, except in the case of occupiers with improving leases ;” and more’s the pity.

We quite concur in the final conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners, namely—That the mere recognition, improvement, and enlargement of the township ; the concession of improving leases with valuation of rents for a very limited number of occupiers ; compensation for improvements ; and a very slight mitigation of arbitrary removals, will appear inadequate, not only to “those whose imaginations have been familiarised with projects of an exaggerated or visionary character, such as a general redistribution of the land,” but to all those who, like ourselves, would be satisfied, at present, with such a simple security of tenure as would make the arbitrary evictions of the past impossible in future, and compensation for improvements, legally secured to the tenants by some sure, simple, and expeditious process. All else would naturally follow.

We have, however, much pleasure in admitting that, in our opinion, the labours of the Commissioners and their Report will, at no distant date, lead to these desirable results, and otherwise vastly benefit the Highland people, if they continue to act wisely themselves.

Consideration of the sections dealing with Fisheries and Communications, Education, Justice, Deer Forests, Game, and Emigration, must, in the meantime, be left over. In this connection, however, it may be said that the recommendations of the Commissioners are exceedingly valuable, and, on the whole, of a most useful and practicable nature.

A. M.

[The Dissents of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Lochiel are dealt with in a separate article. The subject of the Report occupies more of our space this month than we have ever given to any other subject in a single issue, but we feel that its great importance will fully justify us to the Celtic world.]

DISSENTS BY SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE AND LOCHIEL

SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE, in signing the Report of the Royal Commission, "reserved the right to append a dissent from a part of it," in which he was unable to concur, and to note certain considerations material to the inquiry before he signed it.

He dissents in the most emphatic terms, "from all that part of the Report which relates to the organisation of crofter townships as agricultural units." This is much to be regretted ; for it is undoubted that Sir Kenneth's declaration against the leading feature of the Report must tell strongly against the prospect of early action by the Government on the lines laid down by the majority of the Commissioners, especially so when supported in his opposition by Lochiel, who also records his "objections to that portion of the Report which deals with the constitution and reorganisation of townships, and in which it is proposed to confer certain powers and privileges on the occupiers of such townships in their corporate capacity." He gives his "general adherence" to Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's criticisms on the same subject, though to him it appears desirable to indicate more fully than Sir Kenneth has done, "the practical objections to the scheme, and the many obstacles which stand in the way of its adoption." This he proceeds to do in a remarkably lucid, and, from the landlord's point of view, able manner ; but, after all, his criticisms point with any effect to mere matters of detail. The only one of these objections to which it is necessary to make special reference is that in which he submits—

"That not only is the proprietor likely to be a better judge than any other authority as to whether a township is overcrowded ; but he is in a far better position to form an opinion as to the chances of success, in an attempt to increase the area of the township, or to relieve the congestion of the population by the removal of individual tenants to other suitable places on his property. No one," he continues, "can have the same opportunities of ascertaining the inclinations of his crofters, their means or character. No one is better able to judge which of the crofters would be most capable of profitably occupying land, which he

might be in a position to offer them, while he alone possesses the requisite information to enable him to dispose satisfactorily of the crofts thus vacated," with much more of the same kind, concluding—"In this way alone, so far as I can see, would the danger of perpetuating very small holdings with common grazing rights, described in the Memorandum, by one of my colleagues (Sir Kenneth Mackenzie), be removed, and a new system introduced, alike pleasing to the people and founded on true economical principles."

Whatever is to be done must, in Lochiel's opinion, be done on the old landlord plan of borrowing Government funds, from the Public Loan Commissioners, by the owners, and making the tenant pay them. The following is Lochiel's proposal—

"The proprietor, when he is desirous of forming a new township, or adding arable or pasture to an existing township, and has selected a certain number of crofters, not less than four, from his own estate, who are willing to settle on the lands proposed to be dealt with, should make application to the Public Loan Commissioners for a loan of money, repayable with interest at 3 per cent., by instalments, extending over a period of thirty years, to provide houses, enclose and drain land, and purchase stock, under the following conditions:—That the new tenants shall be taken from the estate belonging to the proprietor, and that their holdings, if vacated, shall be partitioned among or allotted to the remaining crofters in the same township—that leases of thirty years be granted to the tenants in a new township, and that their holdings shall be of not less value than £30 yearly rent—that the amount borrowed for the purpose be not in excess of £20 for each pound of yearly rent, and that of this £20, one-sixth shall be provided by the tenant. Thus, in the case of a new holding of the annual value of £30, the sum required to establish him, and stock the land, might amount to £600, of which £100 would have to be provided by the tenant. But I would propose that even this £100 need not be provided in money or all at once. It might take the form of labour on the farm, such as the reclamation of land, or that expended on the erection of a dwelling-house or offices, or the completion of the full stock of cattle which it is intended to maintain by natural increase instead of by simultaneous purchase. All these processes, whether of labour, or providing bestial for the farm, should, however, be considered as completed before the expiry of the third year of the tenancy."

Lochiel's plan is a very good one of its kind, but is it not wonderful that a gentleman of his ability and clear-headedness,

cannot see that the time for this kind of tinkering has long passed away, and was, for any practical settlement of the present difficulty utterly and ridiculously effete, long before it was written into shape. But, perhaps, the best reply is to tell him that he could have done all this of his own accord, long before the Commission was issued; and he may, perhaps, be good enough to tell us, why it is that neither he nor his landlord friends in the Highlands did so long ago. Lochiel's scheme is still-born, for any practical purpose, except in so far as it shows what an excellent use he can make of his pen, if he were only to use it in the interest of his Highland countrymen.

On one point, however, we heartily agree with him. While objecting to the part of the Report which proposes that Procurators-Fiscal and Sheriff-Clerks should not in future be permitted to engage in any other official work, by themselves, their partners, or deputes, as law-agents, factors, bankers, or other situations of the like kind, Lochiel strongly recommends, "that in all future appointments to the office of Procurator-Fiscal in the Highlands, a knowledge of the Gaelic language should be held essential."

Let us now see what it is that Sir Kenneth Mackenzie objects to, and in which Lochiel agrees with him. We shall quote his own exact words. After stating his objections to have the township idea "stereotyped, by giving statutory recognition to the village community as an industrial unit," Sir Kenneth proceeds—

"On the ground, therefore, that joint pastoral tenancies of the character contemplated are adverse to the attainment of a state of prosperity, and that the prospect of their eventual dissolution, if they now receive legal recognition, is visionary, I must dissent from all that part of the Report which relates to the organisation of the crofter townships as agricultural units."

He also thinks the details are open to objection; and so do we, but surely that can easily be remedied. He then continues—

"My concurrence in some other parts of the Report was not given without hesitation. I felt that it would be a misfortune if any of the measures recommended should have the effect of permanently differentiating the Highlands from the rest of Britain, and I doubted whether all of them would be suitable and likely to be made applicable to the whole country. It is improbable that if once" these other measures were "introduced, the period of their operation in the Highlands could be limited."

Sir Kenneth does not say, in distinct terms, what measures he considers so objectionable, in addition to the township unit or area ; but he is sufficiently clear and emphatic in his opposition to anything but what would be "equally applicable to the whole country"—the whole United Kingdom we infer. This will appear more clearly by-and-bye, meanwhile let Sir Kenneth proceed. He says—

"If exceptional privileges were to be conferred, if it were only as the subjects of special favour that it was possible to contemplate Highlanders as thriving, the grant of such privileges, while it might patch up existing evils for the moment, could hardly fail also to protract artificially the existence of the causes which had produced them, and ensure their recurrence. In my opinion," he goes on, "the faulty tenure [? the present crofting tenure] under which they have arisen should rather be brought to an end as speedily as proper consideration for the crofters will permit, and encouragement should be given to the gradual replacement [and, necessarily, the displacement !] of the crofting system by one of small farms, to which the land law reforms desirable for the rest of the country would be applicable."

What is this but a proposal to displace and get rid in the Highlands of the crofters as a class? Sir Kenneth adopts the idea that "they are truly labourers, living chiefly by the wages of labour, and holding crofts and lots for which they pay rents, not from the produce of the land, but from wages." To ensure the prosperity and consequent contentment of a wage-receiving class, "it is of the first necessity that they should be able to find, in the place of their residential settlement, full industrial employment," and Sir Kenneth truly asserts, that "this is just what the crofters in the West Highlands and Islands cannot do." But what remedy does he propose for this unfortunate and preventible state of things? Farms paying a rental ranging "from a minimum of £15 in the Hebrides up to £50 on the mainland," with, of course, an admixture of large farms.

"Such a distribution of the soil would clothe the Highlands and Islands with the greatest population which could be maintained in prosperity ; but it will be evident to every one acquainted with the country that it would not provide for the numbers who have come to be resident on it under the crofting system."

Sir Kenneth then proceeds, in our opinion, to stultify what he

had just proposed ; except on the supposition that those who cannot take such comparatively large farms as he desiderates are to become mere fishermen, day-labourers—where, admittedly, there is no labour for them—or emigrate. He says that

“The crofters, whom it is proposed to turn into farmers have no sufficiency of capital to make profitable use of a holding large enough to give the occupier a certain livelihood,” and, further, “that a sub-division of the large pastoral farms would involve the erection of a number of small homesteads at an expense which neither proprietors nor tenants are very well able to undertake ;” and, if built, these holdings “would be a standing hindrance to that further consolidation which would be desirable.”

Like Lochiel, Sir Kenneth, recommends cheap Government loans, “for homesteads and for the stocking of farms,” but he proposes that a preferential security should be given to any one supplying the tenants with the means of procuring stock, and suggests, now that hypothec has been abolished, that this preferential security would frequently suffice to induce the landlord to grant the necessary guarantee for the tenant. He also proposes the use of State funds for the purchase of self-sustaining farms, both measures which, “though of special advantage to the Highlands, might form part of any general scheme of land law reform for the whole country.”

The proposal to lend State money to the tenants, guaranteed by the landlords, for the stocking of their holdings, is certainly novel, and, if it succeeded at all, would, in one respect at least, be most effectual in making the tenant more helpless, and less independent of his landlord than ever, in any efforts to secure remedial legislation for himself and his neighbours—a fact which will no doubt recommend it, on that account alone, to a certain class, if not to a large number, of proprietors.—

“In my own time,” Sir Kenneth says, “the progress of the Highlands, consequent on the spread of education and the increased facilities of communication, has been very great,” and he maintains that “an extension of these means if not artificially impeded [by such proposals as the majority of Commission recommends, being the only legitimate inference] it will of itself bring about developments which, in conjunction with general reforms,” (applicable to the whole country, as he previously states) “will gradually place the land tenure of the Highlands on a

sounder footing. If, in addition to this, the encouragements to fisheries and the facilities for emigration, recommended in our Report, should be afforded, provision would, to some extent, have been made for the superfluous population, and the progress of improvement would proceed with even greater rapidity."

That is, progress in the present system for the spread of education, of the present facilities of communication, with the proposed encouragement for fisheries, and the facilities for emigration, recommended in the Report—in addition to his proposed plan of "small farms," at from £15 to £50 rental, "for the gradual replacement of the crofting system"—would, in Sir Kenneth's opinion, be sufficient to bring about peace, contentment, and comfort, to the Highland people. We do not believe it would, and we sincerely trust that such mere patching proposals will not be for a moment listened to. Sir Kenneth, in short, emphatically condemns the whole crofting system. The districts where the system prevails, he says, are "those districts in the Highlands and Islands where the frequent recurrence of destitution has given evidence of the prevailing poverty, and of the narrow margin, which, in ordinary seasons, separates the people from want. These are the districts," he says in conclusion, "where the crofting system is in its fullest operation—a system which, however, valuable as affording a home, with pleasant surroundings, to the labourer in those parts of the country where wage-paid labour is required [in the south and east], is elsewhere a general cause of poverty"; that is, in the whole of the north-west Highlands and Islands! Many people will hold that the present Land Laws are mainly responsible for those undoubted evils—for all the poverty existing.

It is but right that we should allow Sir Kenneth to state the reasons, in his own words, for the position he has, we think unfortunately, taken up on this question; and of his admitted personal desire for the people's welfare. The latter will never be questioned by any one who has the slightest knowledge of his personal character and sympathies, though his political-economy views have now landed him, we fear, for ever, as a public man, in a position decidedly antagonistic to the crofting community, as a class. That he takes up that position conscientiously, but with regret, is sufficiently clear. He says—

"If I appear to concur somewhat reluctantly in the recommendations of land legislation for the Highlands, which may prove inapplicable to the rest of the country, it is not because I am less earnest than my colleagues in my desire for the people's welfare, but that I fear the evils that are likely to attend such legislation."

As a matter of fact, he does not concur "reluctantly," or otherwise, in the more important land legislation proposed, such as the township unit and the privileges to be attached to it; so that it can only be the proposed improving lease that he is referring to as receiving his concurrence reluctantly. And this, after all, is only the natural outcome and complement of the famous Glasgow speech, wherein Sir Kenneth declared that—

"Under our present system it seems evident that small farms are as doomed as handlooms were when power was first introduced, and that farming must fall more and more into the hands of capitalists able to conduct operations on a great scale, with a maximum of machinery and a minimum of labour. Those who, at the present juncture, fancy they see signs that this process is being reversed, are not reading facts aright."

The criticism of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Lovat, and others at the time placed the impression naturally conveyed by the Glasgow speech beyond question, and Sir Kenneth's reply to the Duke rather intensified than removed that impression. In his letter, he said that—

"Unless, then, it can be shown that the small tenant will not only offer, but will also in the long run be able to make payment of a higher rent than the large tenant, the landlord's pecuniary interest will stand opposed to any philanthropic schemes for increasing the number of agricultural occupiers; and while human nature remains what it is, I fear philanthropy will be the weaker of these two motives."

Sir Kenneth then expresses regret for the diminution of the rural population. The manner in which he proposes to avert what he thus regrets, is sufficiently clear from his dissent to the Report of the Commissioners; but to his old admirers his position is simply inexplicable, except on the assumption that he has looked at the question too much from the economic, and too little from the social point of view; while, in the same sentence, in which he condemns that attitude on the part of others, he declares for himself "that no reform can be considered worthy of the name which

does not take both into consideration." We quite agree with him in this ; but matters in the Highlands have been allowed to drift so far that the social point of view must be by far the most prominent in any reform attempted now ; while it is clear that Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, perhaps unconsciously, gives the first place to so-called political-economy ideas, and that to an extent which must largely damage, if it does not completely neutralise, his efforts for usefulness in the future, in connection with the necessary reform of the Land Laws in the Highlands.

THE RIVER BEAULY.

BY EVAN MACCOLL.

Of all the witching scenes the North
 Can boast of well and truly,—
 Haunts which no bard of any worth
 Would fail to honour duly,—
 There's none, I ween,
 To match that scene
 Where quits it's Dream, the Beauly,
 And laughing leaps into the plains
 Where plenty smiles on happy swains.

I've stood by Foyers' thundering leap,
 Seen Lora's rush astounding,
 Heard the swift Brander's moaning deep
 'Mong Cruachan's caves resounding :
 These have their share
 Of grandeur rare,
 But, Beauly, thee surrounding
 Are scenes that might Elysium grace,
 The beauty-spots on nature's face !

'Tis grand thy crystal flood to view
 Benvaichard's borders leaving,
 Nor less to see the Strath below
 Thy fuller flow receiving ;
 But grander far
 To see thee where
 Its narrowing bounds thou'rt cleaving
 Through rocky ridges opening wide
 In very terror of thy tide.

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THE RIVER BEAULY.

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Now through the Dream's dark gorges deep
 Methinks I see thee going,
 Half hid 'mid woods that love to keep
 Fond watch upon thy flowing
 From rock to rock,
 With flash and shock,
 And fury ever growing ;
 A giant fettered, it is true,
 Yet bound all barriers to subdue.

O for a home on Agais fair
 Nigh which, anon, thou wendest
 Thy way, proud-rushing on to where
 In thy great might thou rendest
 The one more chain
 That strives in vain
 To fetter thee, and lendest
 Unto the Dream thy grandest gift of all,
 The gleaming glory of Kilmorack's Fall !

O scene most magically wrought !
 What minstrel pen can paint thee ?
 Thy charms, fantastic beyond thought,
 Art never could have lent thee :
 Enchanting spot,
 I wonder not
 The muses love to haunt thee ;
 And long, loved Dream ! may they delight to stray
 Through thee with tuneful King-descended Hay.*

Majestic stream ! methinks I see
 Thee now, past all commotion,
 Like virtue to eternity,
 Glide calmly to the ocean.
 Soon in thy grave,
 The German wave.
 Shall ever cease thy motion—
 Cease ? deathless flood ! till time shall cease to run,
 Thy race is finished, and yet but begun.

DR MACKENZIE CHISHOLM.—In the *Medical Journal* of 10th May, in the list of registered medical practitioners, on whom the degree of M.D. of the University of St Andrews was conferred, is the name of Kenneth Mackenzie Chisholm, L.R.C.P., Edinr., L.R.C.S., Edinr., now of Rockhouse, Radcliffe, Manchester, late of Flowerdale and Munlochy. Dr Chisholm is the son of our good friend, Mr Simon Chisholm, Flowerdale Gardens, Gairloch.

* John Sobieski Stuart Hay, author of "The Bridal of Kilchurn," and other poems of great merit, and who for some years resided in the vicinity of the scene here alluded to.

CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

GÆLIC seems to be asserting itself to good purpose on the American Continent. A Celtic Society has been recently established in the City of Montreal. At its inaugural meeting there were representatives present from the Celts of Wales, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Highlands of Scotland, and some excellent speeches were delivered on the occasion. When we mention that among those who took part were Professors MacVicar and Campbell, and the Rev. Dr MacNish, it will be felt that the auspices, under which the Society has been set up, are such as will ensure it permanence and effectiveness. As the Society's ranks are to be made up of members from the various countries using the Celtic tongue, men of all shades of opinion and creed, it has been wisely decided to exclude from its proceedings all controverted matters likely to lead to unpleasant collision among the members. Literary and antiquarian subjects will have the principal share of attention.

A Gaelic congregation has been set up in the City of Chicago. The Rev. Dr Campbell, of Collingwood, Ontario, has accepted the pastorate, and the scheme under his experienced and able ministry, is likely to prove a very great success.

FOUR PAGES EXTRA are given this month, notwithstanding which, it has been found impossible to give the usual chapter of "Celtic Mythology," and several other items.

ROYAL RECOGNITION OF A GAELIC BARD.—Mrs Mary Mackellar (the Gaelic poetess) forwarded to the Queen a copy of the *Celtic Magazine* for May, in which her lament (in Gaelic) for the Duke of Albany appeared, and her Majesty has been graciously pleased to send a letter of thanks to the poetess, through Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Ponsonby, dated Windsor Castle, May 12th, 1884.

"NETHER-LOCHABER."—The Rev. Alex. Stewart, F.S.A. Scot., Nether-Lochaber, is preparing another volume for the press, made up of selections from the Letters which he, at various times, contributed to the *Inverness Courier* during the last quarter of a century. We have no doubt that this volume will meet with the same success as the first. The work will contain some of the brightest and most racy of Mr Stewart's Letters. The author has the rare power not only of seeing, but of telling what he sees in graceful and pictorial language. By all classes, but especially by Highlanders at home and abroad, the new volume will be looked forward to with interest.

"AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPORT OF CROFTER COMMISSION."—A pamphlet, under this title, extending to about 80 pages, by the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, is now ready. Price, in Paper Covers, 6d.; by Post, 8d. In Limp Cloth Covers, 1s.; by Post, 1s. 2d.; from A. & W. Mackenzie, Publishers, Inverness.